

## N. Y. Socialists In Supreme Effort To Elect Thomas

**Tammany Squarely Challenged—  
Campaign Attains Unusual  
Proportions**

NEW YORK—With Socialist, Labor and Liberal elements rallying behind Norman Thomas, Socialist candidate for alderman, 8th district, and his chances for election becoming surer every day, this week sees a concentration of forces to assure his election. The Socialist Party, Socialists weekly, has just issued what may well be termed a "Norman Thomas special edition." Among its stirring features is a challenge by Thomas to Tammany expressed in seven damning counts against that corrupt organization, and a sensational expose by Thomas in which he charges that Tammany in case of victory plans a huge transit steal. Thomas also challenges his Tammany opponent, Louis J. Wronker and his Republican opponent, to a three-cornered debate on the subject: Who Will Best Represent the 8th District in the Board of Aldermen?

Here is the gist of Thomas' blows against Tammany:  
"Tammany Will Never Give Cheaper Housing Because The Real Estate Operators Won't Let It."  
"The Times is Glorious. It is the only paper in the city that has the right to be called the 'Times' while the New Tammany has smoothed out his fur. But it's the same old Tammany, living on two kinds of graft, honest and dishonest."  
"The Public Pays Tammany Dollars and Gets Back Pennies."  
"No One Ever Sold His Birthright for a Cheaper Mess of Pottage Than New York Gets."

The Republicans live on the Crumbs that Tammany Lets Drop.  
Socialists Sitting in the Board of Aldermen can save the People of the City Millions of Dollars a Year.  
Justice in the Magistrate Court Goes by Favor. Political Pull is More Powerful than Justice.

"Honest Graft" Comes in Getting Contracts Awarded by the City. "Dishonest Graft" is Collected Principally Through Minor Offices Where Taxes are Charged for Services that Should be Supplied Free by the City.

As an indication of the swing of liberal elements behind Thomas, including prominent citizens, the Jewish liberal and religious leader, Rev. Stephen S. Wise, has come out for the election of Norman Thomas in the following statement:

"I would consider the election of Norman Thomas a triumph for the best hopes for our city. He has an understanding of city problems, vision of the city's needs and passion for the city's well-being. He is as far above the petty and self-seeking politicians in politics as Lincoln and Wilson and Debs. What this gallant, fine-souled being might do with the Board of Aldermen, a supremely inept and futile item in our municipal account!"

"Norman Thomas is fit for the highest office. Let the citizens of New York eagerly claim his characteristic offer of service."

## DEADLY PARALLEL-MILLIONAIRES AS PRODUCTS OF CORPORATIONS

**America Had 30,517  
Millionaires in 1926**

The United States had 30,517 millionaires in 1926 according to government income tax returns for that year. This represents a fourfold increase of America's super-rich in 12 years, or since 1914 and almost a doubling of the number of millionaires in the United States since 1923, or in three years. In 1914 this country had 7,599 millionaires; in 1923 it had 16,634 millionaires.

There were more millionaires in New York state in 1926 than there were millionaires in the entire country in 1914—a startling development not only in the increase of the super-rich, but in the concentration of wealth.

The government returns show that millionaires are almost exclusively the products of the cities—that is, the places where finance, industry and commerce pile up their millions while great fortunes are almost absent in agricultural regions.

New York had the incredible number of 9,690 millionaires—nearly a third of all the millionaires in America—and most certainly representing more than half the millionaire wealth.

Pennsylvania follows New York, with 3,066; Illinois is third with 2,792; Massachusetts fourth with 1,951. New York has more than twice as many millionaires as the entire "Corn Belt," and six times as many as the "Corn Belt" outside of Illinois. And that computation makes Oklahoma, with 174 millionaires, a corn state, though its real money crop is oil. Of really agricultural states, Kansas has 80 millionaires, Iowa 35, Nebraska 58, and Mississippi 34. It is a safe bet that none of these are farmers.

REMEDY: LET THE NATION OWN THE CORPORATIONS.

## Steel, Industrial Barometer, Foretells Approaching Storm

**Captains of Industry Urge  
Wage Cuts to Save  
Their Profits**

The present condition of the steel market is causing widespread alarm among the magnates and wage reductions are threatened to save profits, according to a news dispatch from New York.

This is significant because steel is taken as the barometer indicating general industrial conditions. Steel is the basic material in industrial consumption. Orders for steel and steel products are the best index of conditions in manufacturing and building. Orders are falling off to such an extent that the price of steel is declining, hence the movement to reduce wages and force the workers to swallow this loss rather than the non-working, absentee stockholders who own the steel industry. The news dispatch says:

NEW YORK—That the unsatisfactory price situation is uppermost in the minds of steel manufacturers and that some thought is being given to the possibility that it will become necessary to reduce wages, was indicated in informal discussions this week among attendants at the autumn meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute. Representatives of all of the leading steel producing interests of the country were present.

This indicates that an era of wage-slashing is about to de-throne the skilled and organized worker from the highest money wage pinnacle ever before attained under capitalism.

## Payrioteers Shout Preparedness While Arming Rival Power

NEW YORK, Oct. 21.—While the people of the United States are expending hundreds of millions of dollars every year to protect the republic against foreign enemies, American shipbuilders are busy supplying foreign governments with the weapons needed to overcome that defense.

For example: Wall Street was informed last week that the Electric Boat Corporation was about to sign a contract with Japan calling for the construction of \$50,000,000 worth of submarines.

Every time Congress meets representatives of the Navy Department call attention to the "yellow peril" and the possibility of Japan sweeping down on our Pacific coast.

To guard against such an attack the Navy maintains a gigantic fleet in the Pacific. The most effective way to attack that fleet would be with modern submarines.

## WEVD By William H. Henry (National Executive Secretary, Socialist Party)

Just one year from the date Gene Debs passed from this life, a beautiful and well-remembered man, a man who gave his work and voice for the great mass of human kind to which Debs gave his life. There were many who said it could not be done—that it was too big a job. Others said it would take years to put over such an institution. Now it is in operation, and still a few pessimists fall back to the last ditch and say it cannot be kept going. This reminds us of what was said when Fulton's steamboat started its first journey.

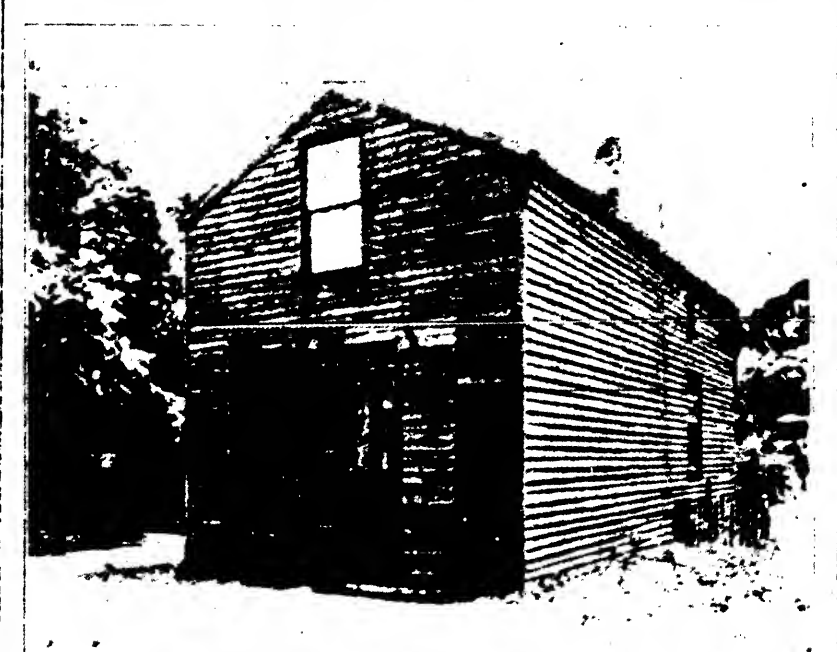
The Socialist Party deserves great credit for this magnificent instrument for good in honor of Labor's beloved leader, Gene Debs, but this Radio is not to be confined to the propaganda of the Socialist Party alone. It is broader than that. It will be a voice for the great masses of human kind that always found a champion in Debs. The Comrades in charge of the work deserve much credit for their untiring efforts to erect this station. They have indeed done well and may be proud of the beginning of this worthy institution.

Now that it is started and doing business, may the organizations and individuals who share its ownership, who understand the necessity of such an instrument in the battle of life, stand firm with not only an open mouth with praise, but an open pocketbook and an all round support, that this voice of Labor may be heard for every struggle of the toilers; for its educational work and an everlasting reminder of Gene Debs and the cause to which he contributed so gladly.

The voice of Debs is not still. It floats in the air, made vocal by the tongues of his comrades and sent out into thousands of homes. While we honor our Gene, we honor ourselves. We give assistance to the cause he loved so much.

Long may we hear announced "This is WEVD." Long may our cause keep the spirit of him, and transmit it to the great mass of human kind.

## A REAL AMERICAN WAS BORN HERE



Eugene Victor Debs was born in this little cottage at No. 117 11th Street, Terre Haute, Indiana, November 3, 1859—just 72 years ago today.

At this spot in a typically American village environment amid truly pioneer surroundings and health-giving hardships, a bright, aspiring American boy lived, strove and dreamed.

The wooden bunk with its straw bedtick; the unheated garret bedroom; the icy water for washing hands and face on frosty mornings; the homely, healthy fare; the little district school house; and the open, healthful rural country; loving parents, who after and came to be "Daddy and Daisy" to him and brother Theodore—these were some of the hard, healthy, wholesome factors that went into the making of one of America's cleanest, finest, strongest, most courageous, idealistic, loving and useful citizens.

America never produced a more truly American product, a greater lover of the American people, a loftier patriot, in the true sense of patriotism, than Eugene Debs. Merged in Debs were elements that went into the making of Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, John Jay, Daniel Phillips and Walt Whitman, who developed under similar environment.

Debs was the merest child, the external, the extraneous, the erroneous, the passing phases of American life. HE WAS THIS SOLELY BECAUSE OF HIS UNDYING, UNALIENABLE LOYALTY TO THE ORIGINAL AND TRUE AMERICAN REALITY—DEMOCRACY.

In all American history Debs is the supreme and outstanding DEMOCRAT. Jefferson never freed himself entirely from the taint of aristocratic and slaveholding inheritance, nor Lincoln from the taint of aristocratic and slaveholding inheritance. Debs was entirely beyond the present undemocratic industrial system; although he saw far and splendidly for a man of his times. Wendell Phillips saw beyond chattel slavery—even beyond wage slavery—but he never did possess the clear vision of the perfect democracy of the future which Debs foresaw. Even rough, bluff old Walt Whitman, perpetual adorer and singer of democracy, thought he saw democracy in his own day in the growing life of his beloved states.

Debs is America's supreme democracy, because he alone of the great Americans saw that American individualism and capitalism were not democracy and democracy could not be constructed out of them. He alone demanded democracy, complete and without qualification, in every department of human life. He alone demanded that the people shall rule in industry as well as government. He alone foresaw a system where master and slave were gone forever; where social classes ceased to exist; where every individual possessed citizenship and sovereignty in all things related to his sources of living and employment, his well-being, development and happiness. Where exploitation, oppression, poverty and ignorance were banished forever from the earth.

If this is not democracy, there is no such thing as democracy. If Debs' almost divine love for the people, and his absolute faith in them and in their destiny, is not the true democratic spirit, there is no democracy. If Debs' vision of the world of tomorrow does not represent the goal of democracy, DEMOCRACY IS A WILD-O-THE-WISP AND HAS NO MEANING—AMERICA HAS NO MEANING.

## PowerLobbyMasses For War on Public Ownership Projects Maurer Back on Job in Reading Socialist Campaign

WASHINGTON—Gifford Pinchot, former Governor of Pennsylvania, predicts that "the most extensive lobby the power interests ever brought together" will be in the nation's capital this winter to kill bills for the disposal of Kusele Shale and for the construction of Boulder Dam.

"Already," said Mr. Pinchot, "we are hearing the old story that any interference with the alleged right of the power monopolists to practice extortion on the people constitutes anarchy, socialism, bolshevism and communism, and will lead to the downfall of the republic. The theory is that the government should do nothing for the people and the monopoly everything for them."

"I am not a government-ownership man, but I sometimes wonder how this nation has managed to get along with the government delivering the mail every morning."

## A. F. of L. Forced To Political Action In Pennsylvania

**Calls Conference for Political  
Plans to Meet Attack of  
Injunction Makers**

"Because of the attitude of the political powers who control the situation in Pennsylvania, the A. F. of L. executive council has recommended a conference that plans may be formulated by which Pennsylvania workers can use their political power against these opponents. The conference will convene at the Roosevelt hotel in Pittsburgh, Monday afternoon, November 14, at 2:30 p. m."

The above announcement is from the current issue of the American Federation of Labor News Service. It follows the issuance of injunction orders by federal courts in Pennsylvania, which virtually destroy the United Mine Workers in Pennsylvania, hand victory in the strike to the operators and endanger trade unionism generally. Following the vicious court rulings in Pennsylvania, the Supreme Court of the United States refused to hear the case, thus supporting and making permanent the outrageous injunction order, and placing the whole capitalist political machine of the United States squarely behind the operators and against the organized workers.

Following these destructive political moves against the workers, the whole Republican political machine, which happens to dominate in Pennsylvania, has been busy executing the order of the mine owners. The A. F. of L. News Service says:

"Mines and their families are evicted and the corporation gunmen are unchecked in their terrorization campaign against the workers and their dependents who have made every sacrifice."

The Pennsylvania political authorities, the A. F. of L. account says, are "issuing commissions to coal and iron police who are paid by the coal companies."

The conference will consist of representatives of national and international unions, the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor and city and central labor bodies throughout Pennsylvania.

Many of the representatives, therefore, will favor independent political action, or a labor party, as there is already a labor party in the coal fields, strongly supported by the miners and already in the field with candidates in some counties. The Socialists, who always favor independent political action by the workers, will favor an independent political alignment of the workers.

Prominent among the Socialists will be James H. Maurer, president of the Pennsylvania Federation. Maurer is running for the city council in Reading with every indication that he and other Socialists and prominent trade unionists will be elected. Organized labor in Reading has solidly aligned itself behind the candidacy of the Socialists.

It is hardly to be hoped, however, that the A. F. of L. officials will depart from their nonpartisan policy. It is rather to be expected that they will take extraordinary measures to make it as effective as possible.

The situation, however, in view of the brutal use of political power against the organized workers and the dangerous possibilities involved, is fraught with unusual political possibilities. The American Appeal from the first decision of Judge Schumaker of Pittsburgh has maintained that resort to independent political power by the workers is the only remedy.

The decision of the American Federation of Labor to hold a political conference on the situation is significant.

response accorded the speakers by the voters is the greatest Reading has seen for some time. It recalls the days when the Socialists succeeded in selecting candidates against the big, big money opposition.

In his campaign for Mayor, J. Henry Stump relates some amusing incidents. "Our difficulty is not to gather crowds, but to get the people to return to their homes after we have concluded our addresses," he said. "At every meeting the people gather in groups. After one meeting, held near a social club, a group of club men found it impossible to continue a card game because the bulk of the membership was demanding a discussion of political affairs. At another meeting women carried rocking chairs from their homes to the corner where we spoke and sat in comfort to listen to our demand for an administration of city affairs in the interest of small home owners and renters instead of for the profit of landlords and coupon clippers."

## Old Age Pensions Win in Milwaukee

MILWAUKEE.—Unanimous approval was given the old age pension passed by the 1925 state legislature by the common council.

The approved resolution, urging the county board to come under the provisions of the law was introduced in the council by Ald. Max J. Elmer, Socialist, 24th ward.

This is an important victory for the Socialist party of Wisconsin. Wisconsin for some time has had an old age pension law. It is a pioneer state in the old age pension movement.

Initiating this movement and actively pushing it to victory in the legislature was the Wisconsin Socialist party with its representatives in the

## WAR CATASTROPHE IMMINENT— AN APPEAL FOR UNITY

Unless the world forces of democracy and peace are dominant in international affairs by 1935 the most terrific world war in all history is inevitable, if such an outbreak does not occur even before that date.

This prediction is made by Henri de Jouvenel, the French statesman, who has been closely studying the war-making forces that are at work throughout the world.

It is based upon certain developments which seem to be leading irresistibly to this conclusion. The two major causes that are likely to release the pent-up war forces in the greatest explosion in human history, according to Jouvenel, are the evacuation of the Rhineland by the allies, and the completion of Mussolini's program of war preparation. Mussolini, about six months ago, predicted that the Great War would come in 1935.

Geneva a Failure

There is a general feeling throughout Europe that the peace attempts at the last session of the League of Nations were ghastly failures, despite the encouraging alignment of the small nations on the side of peace and certain concessions granted to them by the great powers. Lloyd George recently stated that unless something is done and done quickly there will be another war, inconceivably destructive and horrible. At-count Robert Cecil is another British leader who foresees war unless the peace elements of the world assert their united strength speedily.

Europe is so close to a great war conflagration, that the only thing that prevents it now is the general state of near bankruptcy and economic weakness of the nations that participated in the last World War. This may act as a brake on the nations for several years, but nothing can prevent war on a colossal scale but a swing of the democratic forces to control within the next few years.

The War Situation

How near we are to universal, annihilating war is indicated by the following statement by a capitalist newspaper correspondent in Europe:

"What is the situation underlying these ominous sentiments? Every one over here agrees that the next world war necessarily will be more terrible than the last. It will break western civilization irreparably. It is further felt that while a war between two little nations might be stopped if the big powers stood together any war involving one big power would sooner or later involve all the others and become a world war. Hence, all the nations are interested in the danger spots wherever these appear."

"Of such danger spots at present there is no lack. Latent conflicts smolder between Russia and Roumania over Bessarabia, between Poland and Lithuania over Vilna, between Germany and Poland over Danzig and the so-called Polish corridor, between Germany and France over the evacuation of the Rhineland, between Hungary and Roumania over Transylvania, between Austria and its neighbors over the proposed union of Austria and Germany, between Italy and Yugoslavia over Albania, between Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece over Macedonia, between Italy and France over questions of Mediterranean empire, between Great Britain, Russia and Japan over China and now Europeans, think even between the United States and Great Britain over naval programs."

"If war broke out between two little countries, the big powers if united might check it, but how nearly united are the big powers? France is allied to Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia and virtually also to Roumania and Yugoslavia. Germany is allied to Russia, which in turn is allied to Turkey, Persia, Afghanistan and Mongolia. Lithuania, Hungary, Bulgaria and Austria, as chronic malcontents, also tend to sympathize with this. Italy, Japan and the United States are all keeping somewhat detached. Italy is friendly to Great Britain, but is trying diplomatically to disrupt the French system of alliances and in small ways exhibits sympathy for the smaller nations of the Russo-German combination. Great Britain is friendly to Germany and France, but is engaged in a diplomatic duel with Russia."

"France shows signs of losing interest in eastern European and Balkan questions over Vilna, a rapprochement with Germany and Germany is friendly with Great Britain and cordial toward France, but is unwilling to abandon her Russian ally. Evidence is not lacking of a growing Anglo-American rivalry in various fields."

"In short, the political confusion is almost complete. All that can be said is that in case of another world war the Russo-German group probably will be on one side and the French group on the other, with Great Britain and the United States in a decided attitude against these war dangers must be reckoned the various safeguards, such as the League of Nations, the international court, the Locarno pact and various special arbitration treaties. But the league of nations is not universal, and the big powers lately have been tending to ignore it. None of the big powers has signed the clause making a settlement of judicial disputes by the court compulsory. Locarno is concerned mainly with the Franco-German frontier and leaves other questions open."

The Race of Death

We are in the midst of a race in which the stakes are civilization. Opposite forces are rushing with headlong speed toward a result which will either be the destruction or the salvation of civilization and progress on this planet.

The supreme issue in this vital contest is Control. If real democracy gains the dominant position in international affairs, first we will escape the most dreadful cataclysm in history. If military dictatorship, toward which capitalism is heading in blind greed and fear, retains control beyond the fateful hour progress, peace, security and democracy may be smashed for generations.

In that vast sea of human sentiment for peace and democracy, which if organized and enlightened would be irresistible, there is just one international element that clearly sees the issue, the method and goal. That element is International Socialism. Socialism alone as a force for democracy and peace, clearly sees that control is the essential issue. It alone is organized for control. It alone is battling for organized control by the forces of democracy and peace.

The swing of a single big government, or of several small governments to Socialist control might tip the international scale to the side of democracy and peace. The rise of the Norwegian Labor Party to first place in Norway was a bigger event in this battle than anything else that has so far happened this year. The capture of Germany by the Social Democrats or of Great Britain by the Labor Party might tip the world scale to the side of peace and democracy.

If the world is saved from this impending calamity, Socialism alone will save it. All sincere fighters for peace and democracy cannot aid the cause better than by joining the worldwide Socialist movement. By joining with the Socialist forces of America and organizing for governmental control by democratic methods our American peace forces will soon be able to put the brakes on what is rapidly becoming the greatest war menace in the world today—the present imperialist government of the United States.

## WHAT SOCIALISTS ARE AFTER

Full opportunity for full development is the unalienable right of all.  
WE DEMAND.  
The earth for all the people.  
The machinery of production and distribution for all the people.

The collective ownership and control of industry and its democratic management in the interest of all the people.  
The elimination of rent, interest, and profit, and the production of wealth to satisfy the wants of all the people.

Cooperative industry in which all shall work together in harmony as the basis of a new social order, a higher civilization, a real republic.

The end of class struggles and class rule, of master and slave, of ignorance and vice, of poverty and shame, of cruelty and crime—the birth of freedom, the dawn of brotherhood, the beginning of MAN.

This is Socialism.

—Eugene Victor Debs.

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# Socialist Party News

## Assessment Stamps

We are announcing once more that the sale of Assessment Stamps will not end until December 15. The full amounts have been mailed to all State and District Secretaries with instructions to send the proper amount to each local and branch under their jurisdiction. This means that they must send them to the Federation branches as well as the English speaking. We hope the Secretaries will all give this work their fullest support, and if they do so, we are quite confident that each and every member will buy one for his or her due book.

## Memorial Meetings

There has been so many memorial meetings held that we have been unable to make a report in these columns of all of them and they are still being held. Some of them will be held on Debs' birthday, November 5. In this connection we wish to again remind our comrades that the receipts from these meetings are to be divided in four parts, 1. to the state or district organization, 2. to the local arranging the meeting and 50 per cent to the National Office, to be divided equally between the National Office and the American Appeal.

## Kansas

There will be a state convention of Socialists in Kansas to be held on November 13, beginning at 1:00 P. M. at Pittsburg, Kansas. In the City Hall. We hope that every reader of the American Appeal who professes to be a Socialist will make it a point to attend this conference, and bring every Socialist along. National Executive Secretary Henry will be present to cooperate with the comrades to rebuild the Socialist Party in the State of Kansas.

## New England District

The State Executive Committee has voted to circulate all the trade unions in the state to arouse sentiment against injunctions, against the criminal syndicalism bill in favor of our unemployment insurance bill, and in favor of independent political action. A special leaflet on the latter subject has been authorized.

The New England District has done more for the Debs Memorial Fund than any other state or district office. The comrades in this district, from the small group of comrades in Amesbury, who sent in \$40.00.

Debs Memorial meetings have been held in Amesbury where Louis Rabinowitz was the speaker, in Quincy where Alfred Baker Lewis, Geo. Makela, and Saville Skyras spoke, in Gardnershire where Ose, and Alfred Baker Lewis were the speakers.

The Fitchburg Branch and Yipsels have arranged a meeting for November 6th.

The Boston Circle Study Class meets every Sunday at 5:00 P. M., at 21 Essex St., and is growing in attendance.

Comrade Bearak's campaign for City Council in Ward 14 of Boston has so scared the Republicans that the Republican State Committee has sent special workers into the district to save it from going to the Socialist. Bearak's opponent, the present councillor is seeking to take credit for opening and paving of streets, the contract for which was let before he ever got into office.

## New York

Locals unable to place speakers or distribute literature have been advised to put advertisements in local newspapers. The State Secretary will supply mats for newspaper use to advertise the campaign to Heckiah D. Wilcox, Socialist candidate for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, who is the only opponent of Judge O'Brien endorsed by both old parties.

The State Office has on hand several thousand copies of the leaflet "What is Socialism." Update readers of individuals willing to distribute literature can receive up to 500 copies of this leaflet gratis on application to the State Secretary. The State Office will accept offers for larger quantities at the price charged by the National Organization, \$2.00 per thousand.

State Secretary Merrill has communicated with the enrolled Socialist voters of the City of Rome advising voters of the Socialist ticket to cut Democratic Mayor candidate, Jeremiah Carroll, who was written in on the Socialist primary ballot, sufficiently to receive the nomination over Tony Spadafora, bona fide Socialist. Carroll, albeit no Socialist, did not have the grace to decline the nomination, hoping, it is alleged, to be re-elected with the help of Socialist votes. Some Socialists have been advised to write in the name of Spadafora in the place on the voting machine provided for that purpose.

## Buffalo, N. Y.

Frank C. Perkins, Socialist, is a two to one favorite in betting circles for election as President of the Buffalo Common Council. Mayor Daniel

## Debs Birth Place

The picture of Debs Birth place on page one is being made up in a lithograph reproduction suitable for framing, size 9x11. We are also having a postcard size. Write to the National office for prices. We expect to make prices very low, so every Socialist and friend of Gene Debs may secure one for the home at a very nominal price.

## Jamestown, N. Y.

Comrade George W. Ostrander of Jamestown, N. Y., informs us that they are planning for a reorganization of the Socialist movement in Jamestown. They expect to get a big start on November 13, when the winter campaign will begin. Readers of the American Appeal who believe in the Socialist philosophy will cooperate in the fullest way.

## Northwestern States

Comrade Emil Herman, Secretary of the Northwest District, reports an enthusiastic big memorial meeting held in Seattle. All labor groups were represented by speakers. Lists of flowers were sold. There were beautiful floral decorations contributed by Rosaia Bros. Other flowers were contributed by various comrades. Comrade Herman believes that this is the beginning of the building of a powerful Socialist Party in both the states of Washington and Oregon. He reports there were representatives from all parts of his district.

Pearl M. Wright of Bend, Ore., is opening up a radical book store in her community. She has ordered a large quantity of books to begin with. The National Organization is cooperating with her fully so that her store may be well equipped.

## Colleges Get Literature

The National Office has just sent out one hundred copies of John M. Woz's book "What's So and What Isn't" to one hundred college libraries in this country. Letters of thanks are arriving in every mail, showing that college libraries are glad to receive the book and promise to catalogue it and make it available for student's use.

## Finnish Federation

### Active

Secretary Ruvo reports that the sale of the stamps for October exceeds the sale for previous months and feels confident that November will show a still bigger increase. He orders 2000 due stamps.

## New Jersey

Comrade Leemans informs us that Local Hudson County, Socialist Party, held a big memorial meeting showing that much publicity was secured through the daily press. He also reports 50 per cent of the net proceeds which is to be divided equally between the National Office and the American Appeal.

## Utah

Comrade Isabella Adamson of Salt Lake City orders a good supply of literature, including "Walls and Bars," and also sends in subscriptions to the American Appeal. Judging from her activity, Salt Lake City is going to lead the way.

## Indiana

### Indianapolis

The Debs Memorial meeting for Indianapolis proved a big success in the way of attendance. Comrades feel confident that big work can now be done in the way of propaganda. The unusual turnout in old party politics doubtless caused many to look to the Socialist Party as the way out.

The speakers at this meeting were Robert Jackson, who also acted as Chairman. Comrade Wm. Fogelson spoke on the life of Debs. Rev. Paul D. Hammond gave a discussion on conditions of the present day and Edward Henry as usual told the audience that the only way out of the trouble was Socialism. Two new members were added to the membership. A number of the voluntary Assessment Stamps were sold, after which they had a free lunch provided by comrades. The State Secretary states that nominations for their Party offices should be in now.

## Westmoreland County

### Socialists in Field

The Westmoreland county, Pa., Socialists have nominated a full ticket for the elections of November 8. The following are the Socialist candidates: County Commissioners: J. Robert Theobald of Janette; Bertha Tinney of New Kensington. For Sheriff: Harry K. Churn, S. Greensburg. For County Treasurer: Harry Eckard, New Kensington. For County Controller: Henry J. Hufnagel, Irwin. For Register of Wills: Anton Zornik, Herminie. For Recorder of Deeds: Oscar O. Simpson, S. Greensburg. For County Surveyor: Henry M. Hignet, Trafford.

## Walls And Bars

The Debs Memorial Voluntary Assessment stamp will provide the funds to start the 1928 campaign. Have you bought yours?

## Prize Winners

(For week ending October 31, 1927)

Gertrude Charry, Chicago, \$5.00 sub and donation.  
B. F. Orndorff, Plymouth, Pa. \$5.00 sub and donation.  
W. F. Deitz, Lake Charles, La. \$5.00 sub and cards.  
C. H. Caumans, Boise, Idaho, \$5.00 sub and cards.  
A. Comrade, Oregon, \$5.00 sub.  
W. R. Symmonds, Los Angeles, Calif. \$5.00 sub and donation.  
J. S. Malerney, Tryon, Okla. \$5.00 sub and cards.  
J. A. Shown, Mingo, Okla. \$5.00 sub.  
R. T. Sawyer, Ethel, Miss. \$5.00 sub.  
Edna L. Robinson, Pasadena, Calif. \$5.00 donation.  
W. B. Schreiber, Indianapolis, Ind. \$5.00 sub.  
R. C. Densmore, Chicago, \$5.00 sub and cards.  
S. A. McKee, New Castle, Pa. \$5.00 donation.  
Isabella Adamson, Salt Lake City, Utah, \$5.00 sub and bundles.  
B. W. Wilson, Pekin, Ill. \$5.00 cards.  
Mrs. Della Paterardo, Spooner, Wis. \$5.00 sub.  
Dr. S. A. Garth, Colorado Springs, Colo. \$5.00 sub and cards.

## Fund Report

The following Appeal Army members made contributions to the American Appeal during the week ending October 31, 1927.

### Contributions

Gertrude Charry, Chicago, \$4.00.  
B. F. Orndorff, Plymouth, Pa., 1.00.  
Hilda Krugel, Chicago, 1.00.  
W. R. Symmonds, Los Angeles, 4.00.  
Chas. Stasny, Bedford, Ind., 2.00.  
Edna L. Robinson, Pasadena, Cal. 5.00.  
S. A. McKee, New Castle, Pa. 5.00.

### On Pledges

N. Abramson, Bayonne, N. J., \$1.00.  
Dr. R. B. Green, Chicago, 5.00.  
Joseph W. Short, Dayton, Ohio, 5.00.

### Total

\$61.00

## Sub-A-Month Donations

Joseph Seid, Modesto, Cal. \$1.00

## Debs Memorial Meeting Funds

Local Hudson County, N. J., \$5.00

## Finns Establish

### 30th Labor College

#### By Adolph Salmi

Recent dispatches from Helsinki tell of the opening of a new Labor College in that city. It occupies a new building erected for that purpose. Dr. J. A. Salmi, Minister of Education, Matti Paasivirta, Minister of Social Affairs, and Mena Sillanpaa, assistant minister of social affairs, were among the speakers. This makes about the thirtieth labor college established in Finland through the initiative of the Social Democrats and assisted by appropriations by the Diet, influenced by the powerful Socialist group therein.

## Socialist Victory

### In Hamburg Grows

The Socialist victory in Hamburg, second German city, recently reported in the American Appeal, grows as the details arrive. The latest Hamburg dispatch says:

"The Socialist victories in Altona, Wandbeck and Hamburg were followed on Oct. 10 by an overwhelming victory in the Hamburg municipal elections.

"The Socialists polled 248,163 votes, a gain of over 74,000 since 1924. The Communists also polled a heavy vote, 110,115, a gain of some 24,000 votes since 1924, and about 10,000 more than the Nationalists.

"The new Hamburg city council will be composed of 63 Socialists, 27 Communists, 16 Democrats, 18 People's party men, 2 Centrists, 2 middle class party men, 6 economic party men, 25 Nationalists and 2 National Socialists (Monarchists).

"The new city council will be ruled by a coalition of Socialists, Democrats and People's party men, who together hold 99 of the 160 seats. The Communists have so far worked hand in hand with the reactionaries against the Socialists and will continue to do so."

# American Trade Union Delegation Reports on Conditions in Russia

## In II Articles

### Article I.

Conditions in soviet Russia are better than they were in Czarist Russia before the revolution. They are improving as rapidly as reasonably can be expected. Although the government does not permit an opposition party or press and civil liberty is not permitted to express itself in the direction of opposing the established regime, the soviet government is a workers' government, wages and the general condition of the workers have improved over conditions before the revolution, the workers are enjoying social and cultural advantages they never dreamed of before and education has made vast strides.

The above represents some of the main conclusions of the American Trade Union Delegation to Russia. The report has been issued in a booklet of 96 pages and is signed by James H. Maurer, prominent Socialist and president of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, chairman of the delegation; Albert F. Coyle, Editor Locomotive Engineer's Journal, secretary, John Brophy and Frank L. Palmer. In addition to these representatives of labor, the delegation included a number of well known professors, writers and students of economics.

## Free Investigation

The reports states that a number of European countries were visited and labor conditions studied. Mussolini and fascist Italy alone barred the delegation. The delegation members were the guests of the All Russian Trades Union Council during their stay in Russia. It split into five parties, each traveling almost continuously for several weeks, covering thousands of miles visiting the large cities and principal industrial areas. The report says:

"Everything was open to us from the books of a factory to the office of the foreign minister. We talked with more than a million men and women within the Communist Party, with former White officers and Mensheviks bitterly hostile to the government. We had interpreters of our own and selected additional assistance carefully. We believe we achieved a more thorough knowledge of the conditions than any one could secure individually."

"We must record the fact that the Russians made no apparent effort to hide the bad, although they displayed pardonable pride in showing us the best. Indeed, almost invariably the officials who helped us were anxious to hear our criticism of the weak points in the soviet regime. There was no objection to our talking to anyone, either through interpreters or in languages we understood. There seemed to be real readiness to help us get facts. The request was repeatedly made by workers and officials that on our return home we simply tell the truth about Russia. This duty we shall try to discharge conscientiously."

## Remarkable Progress

The report undertakes to judge Russia of the present on the basis of the conditions before the World War and revolution and in comparison with the East, rather than with the United States. On this basis it points out much that is highly encouraging and hopeful. It says: "Granting that it is the East, Russia as we found it was many times as backward as the United States. It was not a country of the future, but a country of the past. The people on the whole were adequately if not fashionably dressed. There was plenty to eat, and from the standpoint of sheer biological well-being, the urban population seemed far better off than that of London and Paris. It is a hardy, healthy race. There are plenty of evidences of poverty, and in Moscow terrible overcrowding, but on the whole little to compare to the blighted slum districts of many western cities. Everywhere we went we saw evidence of building activity, repairs and renovations to many old houses, new apartments, new cottages, sometimes a new industrial town.

"The city streets are full of people. The majority of stores are open with goods on their shelves and plenty of business. Street cars are running regularly; in nearly every case the railroad trains are strictly on time. Streets are lighted at night, the telephone service in Moscow was excellent, theaters and operas were well attended—often crowded. Moving picture houses were frequent and busy, crowds were wearing the new, modern, new cottages, sometimes a new industrial town.

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normal and orderly manner. It is as far from a hell of degeneracy and wretchedness as it is from a Utopia."

## Economic Progress

"The standard of living in Russia is far below the American average. It is not, however, below the Russian pre-war average. Late in the year 1926 total industrial production reached the level of 1913. At the present time the output per capita of the population is slightly ahead of the 1913 standard of all industry combined, measured both in physical volume and in pre-war rubles.

"This is a very creditable showing. Following the disorganization of the war—which still handicaps production in the rest of Europe—Russia from 1917 to 1921 plunged into the abyss of revolution, civil war, foreign invasion on a dozen fronts, and to top it all a devastating crop failure and famine. In 1921 production had collapsed to a tenth of its pre-war output. Factories, public utilities, railway lines, harbors had been gutted and destroyed. The whole mechanism of trading, exchange and distribution had been wiped out, partly by the application of certain unworkable theories, partly by the relentless course of material events.

"According to the very latest estimates (published September 10, 1927) total production for the fiscal year, ending October 1, 1927, will exceed that of the previous year by about 15 per cent. On the Gosplan basis substantially the same increase is planned for the coming fiscal year.

"On the whole, then, the economic structure is functioning as well as one might dare to expect, considering the utter chaos from which it started. Poverty is far from eliminated, unemployment is a very serious problem, new capital, credit, housing, an adequate supply of needed imports, power development—all are pressing urgent challenges to the present administration. But at least a normal level has been reached and each year shows a gain.

"At the present tempo, failing foreign wars and 'Acts of God,' the Gosplan five-year program calls for a 74 per cent increase in industrial production and a 30 per cent increase in agriculture in 1931. That there is a more than fighting chance to realize such increases is evidenced by the close correlation of the actual figures to the plans, as achieved in the first year of its operation."

## The Trade Unions

Much of the report is devoted to the status of labor organizations in Russia and completely demolished the charge that they are state enslaved bodies, forbidden to strike and deprived of all trade union rights. Here are some of the things it says regarding the trade unions:

"The soviet trade unions are revolutionary bodies much like some of the militant socialist unions of America. But they are more than 'Socialist' in the conventional use of the term, for they have already passed through their period of revolutionary conflict and are now devoted to the business of consolidating the state power of the workers and peasants and the building up of a non-capitalist society."

"In addition to these general aims, the more immediate day-to-day objects of the unions at the present stage of their development are: To protect the economic and legal interests of their members and to improve their material conditions; to raise the general cultural level of the workers; to participate in the organization of production in their particular trade or industry."

"The total number of members in all the 23 national unions is now over 2,670,000. The latest figures show that 92.7 of all the eligible workers of the country are in the unions."

"We are satisfied that the workers have the legal right to strike, that there is no anti-strike law, and nothing resembling American injunctions to curb strikes and the activities of the unions. The hiring of strike-breakers is prohibited by law. Anti-labor courts and government officials are naturally unknown, since the officials are also workers."

"However, strikes are not frequent. This is because one of the tasks of the unions at the present stage is to tell us, 'We see no reason for striking against ourselves.' The soviet government is a workers' regime and the workers participate in the government. The leaders are able to look upon strikes, not as a weapon of class conflict, as in other countries, but rather as a weapon of the workers against the government. The unions are not responding to the desire of the officials. When a strike occurs, they quickly see to it that conditions out of which it grew are remedied."

"The unions have a very definite relationship to the state, but the government does not control the unions. It would be more accurate to say that the trade unions control the government. Yet neither statement expresses the truth. Under soviet communism the trade unions were practically a branch of the state; membership was compulsory and dues were checked out of the pay envelope. But with the creation of the state trusts and corporations under the New Economic Policy, the unions took on defensive functions the same as unions in other countries."

"The unions have always been clear on the avowal of the determination to support the soviet government in industrializing the country and 'building up socialism.' Believing

in the philosophy and practice of socialism, they naturally support the government they have created and defended with gun in hand."

"There are only 23 national trade unions in soviet Russia. All of these are organized on industrial lines. There is no such thing as a craft union, no carpenters' unions, plasterers' union, pressmen's union, or weavers' union. There is a building workers' union, a metal workers' union, a textile workers' union, a printers union, and so on. They modeled their unions on industrial lines, apparently a necessity where workers control industry. However, in some of the unions there are special crafts, or departmental groups associated chiefly for scientific purposes, such as the engineers and technical sections of practically every national union."

"Workers join the unions voluntarily. There is no 'closed shop' as the term is used in the United States. Union-management cooperation is a fact in soviet Russia. We asked Tomsky, the president of the C. C. T. U., what was the most important achievement of the unions during the last few years. His answer was: 'The most notable development in the Russian trade union movement is the tremendous progress of cultural activities. Though these activities are not a new thing, they are aided in their cultural development. Tens of thousands are being prepared for participation in the government as well as in economic and trade union life. They are brought nearer to the realities of life, and that is the most important factor. Such a development exists nowhere else. No union abroad is doing a tenth of what we are doing.'"

## Wages

"The first impression given to the study of wages in soviet Russia is that they are extremely low. Thus the average earnings of the two and half million workers engaged in manufacturing and mining in May, 1927, was 62.6 present day rubles, or \$31 a month; for transportation 70.5 rubles, or \$35 a month; for government employees in 1926, 65.3 rubles, or \$31.50 a month. The average for all industrial workers is 64 rubles, or \$32 a month. This is in sharp contrast to the average in the United States which will run from \$100 to \$110 a month, and is below the general level for most of the industrialized countries of Europe. From this the superficial conclusion has frequently been drawn that the soviet regime is responsible for these low wages. This is erroneous. Wages in Russia have always been low. The result of the revolution on the well-being of the Russian workers must be tested not by contrast with American wages, but by the relative economic position of the workers now as compared with that before the war."

"Fortunately it is possible to make such a comparison. The Russian census for 1913 shows that the average earnings for all large manufacturing and mining industries was 24 present rubles a month. Another independent study arrived at 25 rubles a month. Thus if we take the average money earnings for all manufacturing in 1913 as 100, in May, 1927, they had risen to 250. In transportation, where a million men are employed, the figure is much smaller, the figure being 187. The properly weighted average for both, covering three and a half million workers, is 240."

"The important question, however, is whether the worker can buy more with his wages now than he could before. To determine this the movement of living costs must be measured. Fortunately, a very accurate index of the cost of living is kept by the government. If we take 1913 as 100, the index of the country as a whole in May, 1927, was 203. The relation in the present cost of living of 203 and the present money wage of 225 gives an actual increase in real wages of 12 per cent. In this figure the low costs, but not free rents, are included, and such considerations as free work clothes, shoes and tools for the miners are not included."

"The increasing purchasing power of the worker's pay envelope since the revolution does not, however, include all the material progress they have made. They now receive gratuitously a number of services and benefits which they formerly either had to pay for, or were totally unable to secure. These should be added if we are fully to measure the improvement in the material conditions of the industrial wage earners."

"The first noteworthy addition is the protection given by the system of social insurance. Contributions to this fund are made only from industrial budgets, and now amount to 13.2 per cent of the pay roll. After deducting the amount spent on administration, slightly over 12.5 per cent is used for the workers."

"A second item is that of vacations with pay. These amount to approximately 5 per cent of the working time. Thirdly, the workers have gained by the utilization of the homes and country estates of the former aristocracy as indoor and outdoor clubs, rest homes and sanatoria. It is difficult to place a money estimate on the yearly value of the services which the workers secure in this fashion, but it is considerable and probably amounts to several per cent."

"Twenty per cent of the industrial workers are furnished with absolutely free rent by the state trusts. Since housing formed approximately one-fifth of the working class expenditures prior to the war, this is equivalent to a 1 per cent increase in average purchasing power for the workers as a whole. Greatly increasing sums are also now spent on health by the local government authorities which do not enter into the social insurance budget and hence have not been previously included. There also should be added the reduced price on theater tickets which are obtained for trade union members, amounting to from 40 to 75 per cent of the box office price and totaling several million dollars a year."

"On the whole these additions to the workers' income which are not put in his pay envelope will amount to at least 23 per cent. When this is added to the 12 per cent increase in the purchasing power of money earnings, there is a total increase of 35 per cent above the pre-war level for 3,600,000 industrial workers. Comparative figures are not available for other classes of workers."

"Furthermore, the average length of the working day has decreased by approximately 25 per cent from 5 1/2 hours a day to 4 1/4, which has meant a more than proportionate increase in the leisure available for the workers. For a ten-hour day leaves but two and a half hours for recreation or improvement, a seven-and-a-half hour day will leave five hours for this purpose and thus double the amount of free time."

"(The soviet government in preparation for the tenth anniversary of the revolution proclaimed, last week, a universal 7-hour work day throughout Russia—Editor.)"

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# What Should Be the Issues of 1928 Campaign?

## A Symposium of Socialist, Labor and Liberal Thought

### Industrial Democracy, Farm Relief, anti-Imperialism

#### Alfred Baker Lewis

(Secretary, New England District, Socialist Party)

It is hard to see how we can rally the progressive forces in this country on a platform of only three issues. Genuine progressives who want to sound a party based on the principles of this country and appealing to their interest must demand at least more industrial democracy, a more pacific and humane foreign policy, help for the farmers, more political democracy, ending of the injunction evil and more justice for the negro. There should therefore be a plank even with each of these issues.

In line with this idea I should suggest the following platform:

#### Industrial Democracy

We pledge ourselves to support any measure calculated to increase the power and the pay of the workers and reduce the power and the profits of the owners of industry. For unless we can get more democracy in industry our political democracy is in grave danger of becoming a joke owing to the control of industry, politics and public opinion by the plutocrats of this country. We favor especially a step in our program of real industrial democracy:

1. Ratification of the Federal Anti-Child Labor Amendment.
2. Higher taxes on large incomes, corporate profits and inheritance.
3. Public ownership of electric power, railroads and coal mines with full recognition of the right of collective bargaining and adequate safe guards against bureaucratic abuses as those contained in the Plumb Plan.

#### Agricultural Relief

2. The farmer is entitled to a special help because, unlike the manufacturer, the amount of his product is really dependent on the weather, and once he has planted his crop he cannot regulate his output according to the fluctuations of demand in the way that the manufacturers can.

For this reason the farmer is entitled to special consideration in law-making, to laws favoring cooperative marketing and cooperative storing of agricultural products, and to a rigorous enforcement of the laws against usury.

#### Foreign Policy

This country the strongest nation in the world and should lead in developing a pacific foreign policy. Accordingly we pledge our-

selves to curb the powerful tendency toward imperialism that has developed in this country by refusing to allow our armed forces—the blood and money of our people—to be used to collect money owing to our citizens in foreign countries, or to keep down the rising labor movements of backward lands.

We also promise that we will have our government offer to all the foreign countries whose governments owe our government money to scale down their debt in proportion as they reduce their expenditure on armaments below the present level. To this offer we will add a promise to reduce our own expenditure on armaments by an amount proportioned to the total reduction made by all our debtors in their expenditure on preparation for war. In this way we would furnish a powerful stimulus to the world wide movement for disarmament, and we would gain by a saving on our expenditures for armaments everything we might lose in the reduction of the interest on the money owed our government by foreign governments.

#### Political Democracy

We favor abolition of the power of the supreme court to declare unconstitutional laws passed by congress and signed by the president. America is not a genuine political democracy as long as 5 former corporation lawyers out of nine Supreme Court judges can act as the declared will of the people. If necessary and if they have the will, the president and the senate can effectively prevent the Supreme Court from exercising any longer the power to declare federal legislation unconstitutional simply by increasing the number of Supreme Court judges and appointing to the new judgeships men with labor and progressive sympathies.

#### Civil Liberties

We pledge ourselves to protect the civil liberties of the American people in every way. These liberties are most in danger during industrial conflicts, such as strikes, partly from the directly illegal acts of government officials controlled by the employers, more particularly through sweeping injunctions issued by the courts. We accordingly pledge ourselves to pass legislation forbidding the courts to issue injunctions in labor disputes except on the basis of a showing that whenever injunctions do issue against an act which is a crime, the question of whether or not there has been a breach of the injunction shall be tried before a jury and not decided by a judge alone. In this way labor can again gain effective constitutional guarantee of trial by jury in criminal cases.

which is today ruthlessly overridden by injunction judges in every industrial dispute.

**Justice for the Negro**  
We pledge ourselves to pass a federal anti-lynching law. Lynching is a disgrace to American civilization and since both democrats and republicans have betrayed the interests of the Negro by their refusal to pass the Dyer anti-lynching bill his terrible evil is again on the increase.

#### A National Platform for Farmer and Labor

##### William Karlin

(Labor Attorney, New York)

Heretofore, the only successful political uprisings of the poor have occurred in the United States when farmers and workers marched together to the polls, as in 1900 and 1912. In those two generations the farmers and the mechanics completed their struggle for political recognition and some economic improvement. These fights were conducted simultaneously. While the farmers were fighting the reactionary administrations imposed upon them by the bankers, manufacturers and their reactionary Federalist politicians on the right flank of the battle line, the mechanics were fighting for political and social recognition, as well as for economic improvements on the left. But their efforts were fairly well coordinated, as they agreed upon a set of common immediate demands.

#### Farmers and Labor Must Unite

In our generation there has arisen a condition under which the problems requiring immediate solution are such that workers and farmers must coordinate their working program so as to save the nation from complete grasp of the financial tycoon. Just as in Europe, from time to time, the workers' political groups were compelled to collaborate with other political parties opposed to the remnants of feudalism, imperialism and militarism so the American imperialism is creating similar situations from time to time, with this difference, however, that in Europe, collaboration occurred between political groups whose economic interests were frequently opposed. In the United States, where there are no such groups, the workers and farmers are on the part of the farmers against the workers and visa versa, the fact is that the surplus wealth of the nation in the hands of the people who are neither workers nor farmers, is piled up so high, that the workers and farmers are in a position of their differences with large profits for both groups, if they will

make a common drive for the repossession of the products of their respective labor.

Of the fighting qualities of both groups at present, there is nothing to boast about. Organized labor, since 1919, has lost ground steadily, beginning with the lost steel strike and going down through most of the other industries. Similar defeats have been suffered by farmers' co-operatives and by agricultural industry in general. Thus, a situation is rapidly shaping itself under which the farmers and the workers must unite, not only to regain their former position, but to go forward with measures that will bring comfort and culture obtainable under machine production to every cabin in the country and every apartment in the city.

#### An Immediate Program

In my opinion, the immediate program of high class farm labor forces of the country may unite, in the following:

Laws for the abolition of the use of the injunction in labor disputes and the making of labor unions completely immune from prosecution for damages sustained by capitalists on account of strikes.

A national super-power system for the development of water power and making the resulting electric power available to the people at cost.

The development of cooperative marketing, with a view to the elimination of high cost to the consumers in the cities and the taking of the farmers out of the bankruptcy.

Other immediate demands should include the ending of our imperialistic attitude towards Central and South America and the withdrawal of our marines wherever stationed in foreign lands where they were not being used to enforce local governments for the benefit of American financiers and other special interests.

The nationalization of oil producing properties, thus divorcing them from the grip of the plutocratic dukes who have corrupted the officers of the national government from time to time while obtaining leases for public oil lands for private exploitation.

The revision of the Versailles treaty on the basis of the fourteen points for the purpose of promoting the peace of the world and the security of our own country from wars for revenge that threaten all nations.

The low average of their earnings as compared with the extraordinary surplus piled up by the common carriers during the past four years, and show that this condition cannot be cured so long as the railroads of the nation remain in the hands of the nation's corrupt politicians, who have used the Department of Justice as an instrument to defeat labor unionism in the railroad industry.

The platform should contain a provision for the election of Federal Judges for a limited term of years by direct vote of the people.

To alleviate unemployment labor should be aroused to favor ratification of the pending child Labor Amendment, not only on humanitarian grounds, but for the practical reason that a strict enforcement of constitutional anti-child labor laws would tend to reduce unemployment.

It should also be pointed out that private property in mines is the cause of low wages for miners and high prices for coal; that the subservience of both old parties to the profiteers was forcibly shown by the conduct of the Federal and State administrations toward the miners and in favor of the mine owners.

#### The White Collar Workers

In the coming campaign a serious attempt should also be made to reach and befriended the white collar class who are workers economically, but who were miseducated to be capitalists mentally. The practical way to approach this problem is by curing through a systematic agitation in favor of higher salaries for Federal, State and Municipal employees.

If the government white-collar class obtains substantial increases, it will be much easier to arouse similar employes of private, mercantile and other establishments while better conditions in government industry will often serve as a club to compel the employers to grant higher wages in private industry, respective government departments as competing employers.

#### Foreign Relations, Public Ownership, Farm Relief

##### James Oneal

(Editor, New Deal)

It is not easy to confine the issues to be stressed in the campaign of 1928

to three, but since I am asked to do so I suggest the following: (1) For public relations which include the issues of imperialism and peace; (2) public ownership of basic industries under definite safeguards against bureaucracy; (3) a program of relief for agriculture which is sinking into ruin.

#### Join the League

I place foreign relations first because they involve peace or war, imperialism conquest, and the preservation of civil rights. Sad experience has shown that in a period of war civil rights are the first to be sacrificed and without free discussion, freedom of the press, nothing else is possible.

Whether we like the League of Nations or not it is the only approach to international organization of the nations that promises hope of peace. Since its organization it has been considerably modified from the thin disguise of League dominated by the leading Powers. It may be further changed into an instrument for keeping the peace of the world as the masses acquire increasing influence and control over their governments.

#### Make Loans at Individual Risk

Under the same heading should appear a demand that the United States shall under no circumstances employ diplomatic coercion or armed force in behalf of American capitalists and corporations with investments, loans or concessions abroad. It was once the foreign policy of the United States not to use such coercion and armed force for such purpose. This foreign policy should be revised and our investments and concessions in other countries are made at their own risk. In accord with this policy our armed forces should be withdrawn from the weak nations which they now occupy. This policy is essential to avert the menace of war in the Western Hemisphere and to avoid the destruction of civil rights at home which such war will inevitably bring.

#### Socialize Industry

The second item in the platform is just as important. Among the basic industries which should be socialized are the railroads, the mining industry, the super-power sites and enterprises, the telegraph and telephone system, the oil industry, the banking system, the great iron and steel industries and other enterprises of a national character in a progressive program of socialization.

This demand is intimately related to war and imperialism as well as to the welfare of the workers in the

industries. It is leading industries like oil, the banks, iron and steel, that seek to extend their empire across our frontiers and whose profits endanger peace. Moreover, they are becoming feudal corporations whose masters seek to destroy unionism, to reduce wage workers to the degrading status of serfs, and extend the principle of autocracy throughout our industrial system.

#### Run Industry Democratically

But such socialization of industry should be accompanied with a program of industrial democracy as well as publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but as the sole object of obtaining compensation for the humane control of employment to the workers for efficient service to the public. The democratization should also encourage 100 per cent organization of all workers in the public services.

#### Relieve Agricultural Situation

Relief for agriculture is not easily outlined because of the diverse system of farming throughout the country. New England constitutes one type, the cotton regions another, the wheat and corn belts a third, the cattle ranges a fourth, the fruit growers a fifth, and the dairy regions a sixth. It is this diversity of the economic units or regions in agriculture which almost baffles all attempts to formulate a national program for the tillers of the soil.

Nevertheless, the socialization of banking and credit facilities, of railroads, of the manufacture of agricultural machinery, elevators, packing plants and cold storage plants will extend relief to farmers in general. Rigid legislation against gambling in farm products, socialization of marketing facilities, and cooperative alliances between urban and city workers with financial aid of the government will also help the farmers and bring them into sympathetic relations with the workers of the cities.

The rest of the agricultural program can only be worked out on a regional basis in each economic region by members of the trade union and farmer organizations. But whatever the program, both national and regional, it presupposes united political action by the two great divisions in American industry, the working farmers and the wage workers of the cities.

## How the World Is Menaced By the Rising Money Power

The rise of the international combine, or world trust, of big bankers to world power brings into existence for the first time in history a power that can crush republics, depose monarchs, set up military dictatorships, and juggle nations and national boundaries. This new power is the greatest single menace in many ways that now confronts the laboring masses of the world and the democratic forces making for progress and peace.

The shift of power to the money kings is the characteristic revolutionary change of the present epoch. This shift became possible on account of the growing dependence of the expanding, complicated machinery on credit and the medium of exchange. Private monopoly of the credit and money system in society is equivalent to the control of the flow of blood in a living organism—which would mean nothing less than the complete control of the life of that organism.

#### Same Old System

The attainment of supreme world power by the money monopolists, however, does not mean a fundamental change in the process of exploiting labor, and it does not mean a fundamental change in the remedy that has been proposed by Socialists since Marx wrote his Communist Manifesto. The process of amassing and centralizing wealth and economic power in the hands of a few is a process that is fundamentally the same as ever. It consists in the extraction of profits from productive labor through the private ownership of the instruments of labor must use to produce wealth. The bankers' trust has simply come into ownership, largely, of this process, and is carrying it out in a condition that we never faced before. The bankers cannot change this fundamental process. Labor will still be robbed by the old process. Labor still faces a profit system. Labor's emancipation must be fundamentally in changing this profit system into a profitless, classless, cooperative system of production for use. But the rise of the bankers to dominance over this system makes the socialization of money and credits an issue of vital moment and perhaps the logical first step in the socialization of the industrial system.

For one thing, sheer self-defense makes it imperative that the banking system be made the object of earliest possible socialization. The financial monopoly has become a world power, that is controlling peace and war and enervating the world at an appalling speed. It recently forced Belgium to turn its publicly owned rail and system over to a private corporation. It is trying to force France to denationalize all its publicly owned and only industries and monopolies, and only the fact that the left is stronger than the right in France has saved the situation there. There are numerous examples to show that this gigantic world power has made its chief issue the complete destruction of pub-

lically owned enterprises and the movement of the people to possess the sources of their living throughout the world.

#### Making and Unmaking World

Starting facts have developed recently concerning the colossal and sinister power of the world money trust. A recent article portraying the new power of the financiers in determining the fate of governments, and also the fate of the movements of the people toward emancipation, by an American newspaper correspondent in Europe brought the following facts:

"American financiers (Wall Street) are using their tremendous resources to 'stabilize' Europe according to the financial idea of 'stabilization'."

These American high financiers now virtually control world credit, and the making of Europe lies in "the willingness of the American people to buy foreign bonds." "By opening and shutting the sluices of the reservoir," says the authority, "with respect to any particular country, we effect not only its immediate future but its political destiny."

#### In Collision With Government

"The state department and the big American banks work together in exchanging information and views. The government maintains the right to veto foreign loans in its American peace policies and the protection of American investors. The heads of British, French, German and American national banks meet periodically to discuss questions of common interest. In these conferences, the United States has the most influence because it has the most money. Great Britain comes next. Usually what the British and American bankers agree upon is ultimately done."

How the present military dictatorship of Poland was made practically impregnable by financial methods is told by this writer. This, of course, was an effort to block and possibly destroy the workers republic of Russia and to head off future Socialist power in Germany. The writer says: "Thus the international stabilization loan to Poland issued from New York, London and other centers a few days ago was a political event of great importance. Poland's financial credit has long been at a low ebb. Many people were even fond of saying that the new state was anomalous and could not continue to exist. In these conferences, the eastern frontier at Poland's expense, Lithuania was in a state of war against Poland, and Poland's great neighbor soviet Russia, was openly hostile."

This financial readjustment between nations incidental to the worldwide struggle between the workers and their exploiters also hits Lithuania and puts the seal of finality on one of the most atrocious acts of international injustice since the World War. When Lithuania was carved out of old Russia by the Allies, the

League of Nations recognized Lithuania's right to possession of its ancient capital, Vilna, and the survivors of the Lithuanian Polish military, in defiance of this international decision entered Lithuania and seized and annexed to Poland the capital of Lithuania. The League of Nations, that wonderful court of human justice, refused to intervene, even to sustain its own former decision. It was in this barbed rap of Lithuania because it was interested in building up a big military power on the borders of soviet Russia. Now comes Wall Street and decides that this piece of international burglary is O. K. and it is so.

#### Menaces Russia

While Great Britain is seeking to create a military and trade cordon around Russia capable of strangling it, the world financiers led by Wall Street are taking financial steps that may prove more effective than British militarism and imperialism.

The correspondent says: "Our financial powers are also influencing Russia's future. The soviets are in dire need of money. Their currency, while nominally stable, is threatened by new inflations. The number of bank notes in circulation increased in the last year and a half from 1,200,000,000 to nearly 1,600,000,000 rubles. The bank show credit inflation and out of a total of 3,000,000 workers more than 1,000,000 are unemployed."

"Germany is Russia's ally. Last year Germany advanced to the soviets credits to the amount of \$75,000,000. It is feared, with the proceeds of the sale of German goods to the British break with the soviets and the recall of the soviet ambassador from Paris the Russians are particularly eager to get more money from the only possible source, namely, Germany. But the Germans are reluctant unless the American banks will also aid."

"There is now a project for a new \$40,000,000 credit to the soviets of which Germany is to take three-fourths and the United States one-fourth. The American bank interested is Dillon, Read & Co. of New York. The proceeds will be used to build steel mills in south Russia, the materials all being purchased in Germany."

"It is probable that the state department will veto this loan, so far as we are concerned. Because it is out of line with the German policy. The soviet government disquieted has just told unofficial American trade union delegates now visiting Russia that it is ready to settle the American debt if the United States will accord recognition—that is to say, the possibility of getting big American credits."

#### Hits Socialist Austria

Austria, though not yet controlled by the Socialists, bids fair soon to be. Another nightmare possibility in the eyes of the money trust is the possible early union of Austria and Germany, both inhabited by the Ger-

man race, which is marching straight to Socialism, and which thus united would present a mighty power to the capitalist front. Here is what this writer says about the actions of the money trust toward Austria: "Austria is another country which wants a new big loan of \$100,000,000. The countries desiring to prevent the union of Austria and Germany favor granting the loan, but it can be floated only if the United States participates. We are thus in a position, consciously or unconsciously, to influence the great political question of the union of Austria and Germany."

#### When a crisis arises between Italy and Jugoslavia, one of the vital elements in the situation is that they have floated loans in the United

States and are largely dependent upon American credit for the stability of their currency. A similar situation has underlain much of France's political and financial history. As for Great Britain, it is interesting to note that Walter Stewart, formerly of the American Federal Reserve Bank, has just been named technical adviser to the Bank of England. It was American aid which brought the pound sterling back to power.

#### BANKERS' FOREIGN LOANS ALONE AVERT BIG PANIC

##### By Lincoln Phifer

Perhaps we will never know how narrowly we escaped a panic this year, in spite of the efforts of financiers to postpone it until after the voters shall have been fooled again and the road shall have been cleared for world control by the international bankers.

The fact is, America is already mortgaged to its full value. If called upon to liquidate it could not possibly do it. Our so-called prosperity has come from spending within ten years the savings of a century and half, and also mortgaging the future to the limit in order to have more to spend. When the pipe is to be paid, hell will be to pay.

#### How We Escaped

But means have been provided for postponing the day of reckoning until after election. That means is through the mortgaging of the rest of the world to the international bankers.

It is explained more in detail in a dispatch dated October 22, furnished by the International News Service. The dispatch says:

"Throwing open the coffers of America's vast wealth, Uncle Sam, the world's banker, will lend more than \$1,500,000,000 to foreign nations and industries this year, commerce and treasury departments predicted today."

Of course this is a figure of speech. Uncle Sam is not a banker and cannot loan money except as he borrows it himself. The most he can do is to guarantee foreign loans to private bankers, and then perhaps unload the debt on the American people, as he did with the debts he "forgave" European nations recently. The dispatch itself makes clear the truth.

#### "Four Millions Into Markets Abroad"

"Despite embargoes on new loans to France and a storm against the administration's foreign financial policy gathering in congressional circles, American private bankers and members of the Federal Reserve system continue to pour millions into markets abroad."

"American private interests are rapidly gaining control of important industrial enterprises in the far east, South America and even Europe, while

the return on these investments is piling up wealth for investors in the United States."

"Between January 1 and October 1, over \$971,000,000 in foreign securities were floated in the United States, bringing the ten months' total to about \$1,250,000,000. This figure equals the entire loans for 1926, which were the greatest in the history of America's gigantic post-war financing."

#### What It All Means

Except for these foreign loans, which keeps money moving, business here would be dead as a door nail. The banks of America would be forced to close in on the property on which they hold mortgages, and we would be in the midst of the worst panic the nation ever knew.

America is saved temporarily, because other peoples are not being tied up in bonds just as America is tied up already. When the crash does come it will be world wide in nature and reduce earth to a feudalistic condition once more.

The fooled fool American voter will yell prosperity and demand his booze, until the time is past when he might do something to save himself.

If I had my way the platform of the Socialist party would contain only one plank—the demanding absolute government monopoly of money and banking, and a return of the people's credits to them.

But in that plank I would charge the banks with having brought on the world war in order to give them another chance to get rich by the mortgaging of America under bonds, as well as the future of America for years to come. I would charge them with having struck down the west by destroying her metal mining.

#### The Great Conspiracy

I would charge them with having practically wrecked American farming, reducing it to a place where even famine is threatened. I would declare that already the bankers have a mortgage on industry with the power to crush the small merchant and the manufacturer. I would charge private banking with being a menace to the safety and the very life of the world. I would declare that after American investors' get control of

## DO AMERICAN WAGES KEEP PACE WITH LIVING COSTS?

Here are a dozen commodities that the Bureau of Statistics of the United States Department of Labor has just studied in order to ascertain how prices in 1920 compare with prices today. The department survey also included sugar, which fluctuates so outrageously, that we are leaving it out of the table. The twelve commodities here are twelve of the commonest articles of food—twelve of the things the housewife buys ofttest—and they give you a line on the rise in the cost of living during this period.

Look at the table and think back and try to remember what your wage then, (if you were alive then). Are you any better off today than you were then, (if you were alive then)? Eleven of these twelve commodities are measured in pounds. Adding all the pounds you could buy in 1920 together by spending a dollar on each commodity and all the pounds you could buy in 1927, you get the following comparison: \$11 would buy 11 pounds in 1920 and \$12.25 pounds in 1927. Your dollar would buy as many as a little more than 2 1/2 times more than it now buys. Is the wage in 1927 for the mass of the American workers 2 1/2 times as much now as then?

Commodity	What a Dollar Would Buy in 1920	What a Dollar Would Buy in 1927
Round Steak	8.1 pounds	2.5 pounds
Pork Chops	8.3 pounds	2.5 pounds
Bacon	8.1 pounds	2.5 pounds
Ham	6.6 pounds	1.7 pounds
Hens	7.4 pounds	2.0 pounds
Milk	14.7 quarts	7.0 quarts
Butter	3.9 pounds	1.3 pounds
Lard	10.8 pounds	1.6 pounds
Eggs	57 eggs	25 eggs
Flour	34.5 pounds	16.7 pounds
Cornmeal	32.6 pounds	16.7 pounds
Potatoes	82.5 pounds	20.3 pounds

The government has been investigating wages in many industries, and investigations show that the millions working in the great textile industry average on about \$20 to \$28 per week—in 1900 \$10 a week would have bought as much as their wage will buy today. Hundreds of thousands of unskilled railroad workers were working around \$17 per week—the same \$7 in 1900. There are still dollar a day men, as they were then. The thousands of steel workers were found working on an average of \$10 for last time at wages ranging from \$14 to \$20—same as about \$5 per week to about \$8 in 1900. Women workers in vast numbers were working around \$10 and \$12 per week. This would have been the \$5 per week in 1900.

Comparisons like these apply to the majority of the American workers. Only a million or so skilled workers and organized tradesmen have experienced a rise in actual wages in comparison with the cost of living. The old, old story: the lot of the mass of the workers has not been proved. Wages have not any more than kept abreast of prices. As a result of machinery and increased efficiency, in producing more than twice as much as he was producing in 1890, according to government figures, he is losing practically of this increased product to the private owners of industry. The robbers of the workers alone has kept pace with production and explains the cost of living. This increased looting explains the present amazing rate of vast fortunes and the concentration of wealth.

#### Can You Answer These?

When your friend, neighbor, relative asks you the following: Will be the incentive to work in Socialism? Will Socialism destroy individuality? The Home? Police? Who will do the dirty work? Will industry be taken over by the thousand and one questions usually asked by those unfamiliar with the meaning of Socialism?

You may already be satisfied with your mind as to the proper answer to all the above, but can you formulate answers that will carry conviction? If not, send today for a copy of the text book every written on Socialism, "What's So and What's Not," by M. Work. 50c per copy, \$5.00 a dozen, by The National Office, Socialist Party, 2653 Washington Blvd., Chicago, Ill.